

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01  
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R 150852Z JAN 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6018  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 0320

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINR, PINT, PFOR, PL  
SUBJECT: COMPACT FOR POLISH INDEPENDENCE PRODUCES ANOTHER  
DOCUMENT

REF: (A) 76 WARSAW 2756 (NOTAL), (B) 76 WARSAW 8363,  
(C) BRAINARD MEMCON DECEMBER 29, 1976 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. THE MOST RECENT PUBLICATION OF THE GROUP  
CALLING ITSELF THE COMPACT ON POLISH INDEPENDENCE CON-  
TAINS MORE HARD-HITTING CRITICISM OF THE POLISH REGIME,  
COMBINED WITH A GENERAL APPEAL FOR RESISTANCE.  
DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES SINCE LAST JUNE ARE GIVEN PARTICULAR  
EMPHASIS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE COMPACT FOR POLISH INDEPENDENCE (POLSKIE POROZUMIENIE  
NIEPODLEGLOSCIOWEGO-PPN) HAS PUBLISHED ANOTHER "DECLARA-  
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TION" DATED DECEMBER, 1976, A COPY OF WHICH WAS PASSED TO US EARLY  
IN JANUARY. LIKE THE 26-POINT "PROGRAM" CIRCULATED LAST  
SPRING (REF A), THE DECLARATION IS MORE SHARPLY CRITICAL  
OF THE POLISH REGIME THAN OTHER PUBLISHED STATEMENTS BY  
OPPONENTS. IT IS ALSO DISTINGUISHED BY ITS GENERALITY,  
STRONG NATIONALISM, AND ANONYMOUS AUTHORSHIP. THE SIGNERS  
OF THE COMPACT IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS COMING FROM MANY

WALKS OF LIFE; MEMBERSHIP IS OPEN TO PZPR MEMBERS. THEY STATE THEY KEEP A LOW PROFILE BECAUSE THE REGIME COULD USE ITS MEDIA MONOPOLY AGAINST THEM IF A DETAILED PROGRAM WERE PUT FORTH.

3. THE DECLARATION PLACES THE BLAME FOR POLISH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES SQUARELY ON THE PZPR LEADERSHIP. IT DEVOTES LITTLE ATTENTION TO SYSTEMIC WEAKNESSES, IN CONTRAST TO OTHER CRITICAL DOCUMENTS WHICH HAVE APPEARED RECENTLY (REF B). THE CRITICS SAY THE JUNE PRICE RISE PROPOSALS WERE A PLOT TO "REDUCE THE POLISH PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING"; THE PROPOSALS WERE ORCHESTRATED WITH SALARY RAISES FOR THE ARMY AND THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR AND THE ROUNDUP OF POTENTIAL PROTEST ORGANIZERS INTO SPECIAL ARMY CAMPS. THE DECLARATION SAYS THAT THE AUTHORITIES WERE WILLING TO "SELL OFF" THE REMAINS OF POLISH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY IN ORDER TO "RETAIN THEIR MONOPOLY OF AUTHORITY." THE GOVERNMENT'S AGRICULTURAL AND ENERGY POLICIES ARE SINGLED OUT FOR DETAILED CRITICISM.

4. THE DECLARATION ARGUES THAT POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE AT THE HEART OF POLAND'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. BECAUSE THE PZPR DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THIS, THERE IS INCREASING DEMAND IN POLISH SOCIETY FOR POLITICAL CHANGE. THE "MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL EVENT SINCE THE JUNE DEMONSTRATIONS" WAS THE CREATION OF THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE. THE DECLARATION COMPARES THE WDL "FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE" TO THE WORK OF THE POLISH UNDERGROUND DURING THE

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OCCUPATION. IT ALSO LISTS THE "LETTER OF THE 14", THE ACTIVITY OF THE POLISH EPISCOPATE, AND THE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES OF JACEK KURON, JERZY ANDRZEJEWSKI, AND WLADYSLAW BIENKOWSKI, AS IMPORTANT MANIFESTATIONS OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT.

5. THE DECLARATION SAYS THAT THE REGIME IS REDUCED TO DULL PROPAGANDA, CALUMNY, AND SLANDER IN REACTION TO ITS OPPONENTS. THE GENERAL MOOD OF THE POPULATION IS "INTELLECTUAL INDIFFERENCES", RESULTING FROM A DESIRE FOR PEACE AT ALL COSTS, OR FROM FEAR. THE DECLARATION CONTINUES THAT MOST PEOPLE REJECT INFORMATION ABOUT INJUSTICES AND TORTURE BECAUSE THEY WANT TO JUSTIFY THEIR OWN INACTIVITY. OTHERS BELIEVE THAT THE RIOTERS SHOULD PAY FOR THE DAMAGE THEY DID. THEY FORGET THAT THE AUTHORITIES ARE AT FAULT, AND THAT THE SAME DEMONSTRATORS SHOULD BE THANKED FOR THEIR HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING.

6. ACCORDING TO THE DECLARATION, THREE BASIC RULES

MUST BE FOLLOWED BY THOUGHTFUL POLISH PATRIOTS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE POLISH INDEPENDENCE: 1) BE CONSCIOUS OF ULTIMATE GOALS IN EVERY PHASE OF DAILY ACTIVITY; 2) HELP THOSE WHO ARE PERSECUTED FOR TRYING TO INCREASE PUBLIC FREEDOM; 3) KEEP PEOPLE INFORMED AND STIMULATE THEM TO THINKING QUESTIONS THROUGH.

7. THE DECLARATION CLOSES WITH A REPORT THAT ITS PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED "PROGRAM" RECEIVED WIDESPREAD ATTENTION, INCLUDING THE SUPPORT OF WHITE RUSSIANS, UKRAINIANS, AND LITHUANIANS. THE AUTHORS DENY THAT THEY ADVOCATE A RETURN TO CAPITALISM. RATHER, THEY FAVOR THE REMOVAL OF ARTIFICIAL ADMINISTRATIVE BARRIERS WHICH HINDER THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND FULL UTILIZATION OF HUMAN ENERGY.

6. COMMENT: THE DECLARATION ITSELF IS NOT LIKELY TO  
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CHANGE THE POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF POLAND. THE AUTHORS RECOGNIZE THIS WHEN THEY COMPLAIN THAT MUCH OF THE IMPORTANT DISSIDENT MATERIALS FROM ABROAD COME INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO ARE ALREADY CONVINCED ABOUT THE ISSUES. IT IS NONETHELESS AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT AIMED AT MAINTAINING THE CRITICAL MOMENTUM TRIGGERED BY THE JUNE DISTURBANCES INTO THE PERIOD WHEN WORKERS' TRIALS NO LONGER PROVIDE A RALLYING POINT. END COMMENT.  
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